

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 204968
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY TEXT APPROVED BY SECTO 4U11
APPROVED BY AF/TWSEELYE
S/S -O:LRMACFARLANE

-----090504Z 090576 /12

O 090433Z MAY 77 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ACCRA NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104968

EXDIS CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT:INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADORS TO INFORM NATIONALIST
LEADERS AND FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON RHODESIAN CONSULTA -
TIONS

1. THE SECRETARY ON MAY 6 AGREED WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY
OWEN THAT WE SHOULD GO FORWARD JOINTLY WITH INTENSIVE BI-
LATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND
NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH INTERESTED
PARTIES TO A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. THEY ALSO AGREED
TO SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS ON WEDNESDAY, MAY
11, AND PERHAPS SOONER IF ALL THE PARTIES CAN BE
PRIVATELY INFORMED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 204968

2. THE DRAFT OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT THE US SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. CYRUS VANCE,
AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, DR.
DAVID OWEN, HAVE CONSIDERED THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA IN
THE LIGHT OF THE LATTER'S TRIP TO AFRICA. BOTH GOVERN-
MENTS WISH TO REITERATE THEIR COMMON DETERMINATION TO

WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF RHODESIA UNDER MAJORITY RULE
IN 1978. THEY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THEIR CONTACTS SO

FAR TO BELIEVE THAT DETAILED CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN
INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL
ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE A SATISFACTORY WAY TO ACHIEVE
THIS. THEY HAVE, THEREFORE, AGREED THAT BRITAIN AND
THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOW ENTER INTO A PHASE OF
INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES. FOR THIS
PURPOSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH
A CONSULTATIVE GROUP TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES
WHICH WILL VISIT THE AREA AS NECESSARY, INCLUDING SALIS-
BURY. IT WILL BE HEADED BY MR. J.A.N. GRAHAM, DEPUTY
UNDER SECRETARY AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE.
MR. VANCE HAS AGREED TO APPOINT A SENIOR UNITED STATES
OFFICIAL TO WORK WITH THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSULTA-
TIVE GROUP. END TEXT.

3. THE SECRETARY HAS INFORMED JOSHUA NKOMO OF OUR
INTENTIONS IN HIS MEETING WITH HIM MAY 6.

4. AMBASSADORS ARE REQUESTED TO BRIEF THE FRONT LINE
PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS SOONEST OF OUR INTEN-
TIONS, AS WE WANT TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO RESPOND
BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. IT IS OUR UNDER-
STANDING THAT SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA ARE IN ACCRA
AND THAT MUGABE IS IN DAR ES SALAAM, WHERE THEY SHOULD
BE REACHED WITHOUT DELAY. PLEASE INFORM IMMEDIATELY IF
THIS IS NOT THE CASE AND IF THIS INSTRUCTION CANNOT BE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 204968

CARRIED OUT.

5. THE BRITISH WILL CARRY OUT SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL
NOTIFICATION OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES BY WAY OF A LETTER
FROM OWEN WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS OR
HIGH COMMISSIONERS. THE U.K. WILL ALSO INFORM NETO VIA
THE ITALIAN EMBASSY IN LUANDA. COMMUNICATIONS WILL ALSO
SENT SEPARATELY BY THE U.K. AND THE U.S. TO SMITH REGIME
AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

6. IN INFORMING THE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS,
YOU MAY PRESENT THEM WITH A COPY OF THE PROPOSED
ANNOUNCEMENT, EXPLAINING THAT IT IS A DRAFT, AND DRAW
UPON THE FOLLOWING FOR TALKING POINTS:

A. THE US AND UK ARE PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SIMULTANEOUSLY,
THE NEXT STEPS IN RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS ON OR BEFORE
WEDNESDAY, MAY 11. WE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO
KNOW AND UNDERSTAND WHAT OUR PLANS ARE BEFORE A PUBLIC

ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE.

B. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

C. THE RECENT REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT REFLECTS THE US DETERMINATION TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON RHODESIA TO MAKE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE.

D. AS WE SEE IT, A LONG, INTENSE CONFLICT WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR ALL CONCERNED: FOR THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, AND FOR THE ECONOMY OF THE REGION. A STEADILY GROWING WAR WILL IN ANY EVENT POSTPONE INDEPENDENCE.

E. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 204968

ILLEGAL SMITH REGIME WILL CONTINUE. BUT, TO SHORTEN THE CONFLICT AND HASTEN INDEPENDENCE, NON-MILITARY PRESSURE AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALSO NECESSARY.

F. WE HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH AND AGREE WITH THEM THAT CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD HELP ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE AGREED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM IN CARRYING OUT A NEW PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES THAT WERE PRESENT AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

G. WE BELIEVE SUCH CONSULTATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AMONG THE PARTIES AND FOR A SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO RUSH INTO ANOTHER CONFERENCE BEFORE THERE IS SOME AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES.

H. WE UNDERSTAND THE CONCERNS ABOUT US DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN A CONFERENCE. WE WANT TO PLAY A ROLE THAT WILL HELP RATHER THAN HINDER THE PROCESS.

I. EMPHASIZE: WE DO NOT WISH OURSELVES TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A CONSTITUTION. THIS SHOULD PROPERLY BE LEFT TO THOSE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED AND THE UK.

J. WE SEE OUR ROLE IN THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS AS FACILITATING AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES AND HELPING THE BRITISH SEEK A REAL BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.

K. IF THERE IS PROGRESS IN THE CONSULTATIONS, WE ARE

PREPARED TO URGE THE SMITH REGIME TO AGREE TO A JUST
SETTLEMENT. THERE ARE LIMITS TO OUR ABILITY BUT WE BE-

LIEVE WE CAN HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 204968

L. THE BRITISH WILL ESTABLISH A SPECIAL GROUP IN AN
AFRICAN CAPITAL TO PURSUE THE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS.
THE US WILL ASSIGN A SENIOR OFFICIAL TO WORK CLOSELY
WITH THE HEAD OF THIS GROUP. OCCASIONAL VISITS TO
RHODESIA MAY BE NECESSARY.

M. WE WILL CONDUCT CONSULTATIONS JOINTLY WITH THE
BRITISH OR SEPARATELY DEPENDING ON THE WISHES OF THE
INDIVIDUAL PARTIES.

M. IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES
NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT ON
ZIMBABWE. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE CONCERNED TO DETERMINE
THE NATURE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS.
WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE WORK IMPARTIALLY WITH
ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS. CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 104968
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: UNA:JTEFFT

APPROVED BY: UNA:AHOLLOWAY

S/S:SGOLDSMITH

AF:NMORGAN

-----110451Z 001909 /15

O 110308Z MAY 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104968

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S PARTY

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, GABORONE,
MAPUTO, ACCRA INFO CAPE TOWN FROM STATE MAY 09:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104968

EXDIS CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT:INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADORS TO INFORM NATIONALIST
LEADERS AND FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON RHODESIAN CONSULTA -
TIONS

1. THE SECRETARY ON MAY 6 AGREED WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY
OWEN THAT WE SHOULD GO FORWARD JOINTLY WITH INTENSIVE BI-
LATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND
NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH INTERESTED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 104968

PARTIES TO A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. THEY ALSO AGREED
TO SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS ON WEDNESDAY, MAY
11, AND PERHAPS SOONER IF ALL THE PARTIES CAN BE
PRIVATELY INFORMED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

2. THE DRAFT OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT THE US SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. CYRUS VANCE,
AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, DR.
DAVID OWEN, HAVE CONSIDERED THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA IN
THE LIGHT OF THE LATTER'S TRIP TO AFRICA. BOTH GOVERN-
MENTS WISH TO REITERATE THEIR COMMON DETERMINATION TO
WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF RHODESIA UNDER MAJORITY RULE
IN 1978. THEY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THEIR CONTACTS SO

FAR TO BELIEVE THAT DETAILED CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN
INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL
ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE A SATISFACTORY WAY TO ACHIEVE
THIS. THEY HAVE, THEREFORE, AGREED THAT BRITAIN AND
THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOW ENTER INTO A PHASE OF
INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES. FOR THIS
PURPOSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH
A CONSULTATIVE GROUP TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES
WHICH WILL VISIT THE AREA AS NECESSARY, INCLUDING SALIS-
BURY. IT WILL BE HEADED BY MR. J.A.N. GRAHAM, DEPUTY
UNDER SECRETARY AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE.
MR. VANCE HAS AGREED TO APPOINT A SENIOR UNITED STATES

OFFICIAL TO WORK WITH THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSULTATIVE GROUP. END TEXT.

3. THE SECRETARY HAS INFORMED JOSHUA NKOMO OF OUR INTENTIONS IN HIS MEETING WITH HIM MAY 6.

4. AMBASSADORS ARE REQUESTED TO BRIEF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS SOONEST OF OUR INTENTIONS, AS WE WANT TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO RESPOND BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. IT IS OUR UNDER-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 104968

STANDING THAT SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA ARE IN ACCRA AND THAT MUGABE IS IN DAR ES SALAAM, WHERE THEY SHOULD BE REACHED WITHOUT DELAY. PLEASE INFORM IMMEDIATELY IF THIS IS NOT THE CASE AND IF THIS INSTRUCTION CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT.

5. THE BRITISH WILL CARRY OUT SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL NOTIFICATION OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES BY WAY OF A LETTER FROM OWEN WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS OR HIGH COMMISSIONERS. THE U.K. WILL ALSO INFORM NETO VIA THE ITALIAN EMBASSY IN LUANDA. COMMUNICATIONS WILL ALSO SENT SEPARATELY BY THE U.K. AND THE U.S. TO SMITH REGIME AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

6. IN INFORMING THE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS, YOU MAY PRESENT THEM WITH A COPY OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT, EXPLAINING THAT IT IS A DRAFT, AND DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING FOR TALKING POINTS:

A. THE US AND UK ARE PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE NEXT STEPS IN RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS ON OR BEFORE WEDNESDAY, MAY 11. WE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND WHAT OUR PLANS ARE BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE.

B. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

C. THE RECENT REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT REFLECTS THE US DETERMINATION TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON RHODESIA TO MAKE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE.

D. AS WE SEE IT, A LONG, INTENSE CONFLICT WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR ALL CONCERNED: FOR THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, AND FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 104968

ECONOMY OF THE REGION. A STEADILY GROWING WAR WILL IN ANY EVENT POSTPONE INDEPENDENCE.

E. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE ILLEGAL SMITH REGIME WILL CONTINUE. BUT, TO SHORTEN THE CONFLICT AND HASTEN INDEPENDENCE, NON-MILITARY PRESSURE AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALSO NECESSARY.

F. WE HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH AND AGREE WITH THEM THAT CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD HELP ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE AGREED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM IN CARRYING OUT A NEW PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES THAT WERE PRESENT AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

G. WE BELIEVE SUCH CONSULTATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AMONG THE PARTIES AND FOR A SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO RUSH INTO ANOTHER CONFERENCE BEFORE THERE IS SOME AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES.

H. WE UNDERSTAND THE CONCERNS ABOUT US DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN A CONFERENCE. WE WANT TO PLAY A ROLE THAT WILL HELP RATHER THAN HINDER THE PROCESS.

I. EMPHASIZE: WE DO NOT WISH OURSELVES TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A CONSTITUTION. THIS SHOULD PROPERLY BE LEFT TO THOSE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED AND THE UK.

J. WE SEE OUR ROLE IN THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS AS FACILITATING AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES AND HELPING THE BRITISH SEEK A REAL BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.

K. IF THERE IS PROGRESS IN THE CONSULTATIONS, WE ARE PREPARED TO URGE THE SMITH REGIME TO AGREE TO A JUST
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 104968

SETTLEMENT. THERE ARE LIMITS TO OUR ABILITY BUT WE BELIEVE WE CAN HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE.

L. THE BRITISH WILL ESTABLISH A SPECIAL GROUP IN AN AFRICAN CAPITAL TO PURSUE THE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. THE US WILL ASSIGN A SENIOR OFFICIAL TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE HEAD OF THIS GROUP. OCCASIONAL VISITS TO

RHODESIA MAY BE NECESSARY.

M. WE WILL CONDUCT CONSULTATIONS JOINTLY WITH THE
BRITISH OR SEPARATELY DEPENDING ON THE WISHES OF THE
INDIVIDUAL PARTIES.

M. IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES
NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT ON
ZIMBABWE. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE CONCERNED TO DETERMINE
THE NATURE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS.
WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE WORK IMPARTIALLY WITH
ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS. CHRISTOPHER
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 104968
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:AF/S:JDAVIDOW:DH
APPROVED BY:AF-WEDMONDSON
S/S-O:SGOLDSMITH

-----121813Z 067351 /44

O 121740Z MAY 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104968

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE SENT ACTION DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA,
GABORONE, MAPUTO, ACCRA, INFO CAPE TOWN 9 MAY 77.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104968

EXDIS CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT:INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADORS TO INFORM NATIONALIST

LEADERS AND FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON RHODESIAN CONSULTATIONS

1. THE SECRETARY ON MAY 6 AGREED WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN THAT WE SHOULD GO FORWARD JOINTLY WITH INTENSIVE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH INTERESTED PARTIES TO A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. THEY ALSO AGREED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 104968

TO SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, AND PERHAPS SOONER IF ALL THE PARTIES CAN BE PRIVATELY INFORMED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

2. THE DRAFT OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT THE US SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. CYRUS VANCE, AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, DR. DAVID OWEN, HAVE CONSIDERED THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA IN THE LIGHT OF THE LATTER'S TRIP TO AFRICA. BOTH GOVERNMENTS WISH TO REITERATE THEIR COMMON DETERMINATION TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF RHODESIA UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THEY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THEIR CONTACTS SO

FAR TO BELIEVE THAT DETAILED CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE A SATISFACTORY WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS. THEY HAVE, THEREFORE, AGREED THAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOW ENTER INTO A PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH A CONSULTATIVE GROUP TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES WHICH WILL VISIT THE AREA AS NECESSARY, INCLUDING SALISBURY. IT WILL BE HEADED BY MR. J.A.N. GRAHAM, DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE. MR. VANCE HAS AGREED TO APPOINT A SENIOR UNITED STATES OFFICIAL TO WORK WITH THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSULTATIVE GROUP. END TEXT.

3. THE SECRETARY HAS INFORMED JOSHUA NKOMO OF OUR INTENTIONS IN HIS MEETING WITH HIM MAY 6.

4. AMBASSADORS ARE REQUESTED TO BRIEF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS SOONEST OF OUR INTENTIONS, AS WE WANT TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO RESPOND BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA ARE IN ACCRA
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 104968

AND THAT MUGABE IS IN DAR ES SALAAM, WHERE THEY SHOULD BE REACHED WITHOUT DELAY. PLEASE INFORM IMMEDIATELY IF THIS IS NOT THE CASE AND IF THIS INSTRUCTION CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT.

5. THE BRITISH WILL CARRY OUT SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL NOTIFICATION OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES BY WAY OF A LETTER FROM OWEN WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS OR HIGH COMMISSIONERS. THE U.K. WILL ALSO INFORM NETO VIA THE ITALIAN EMBASSY IN LUANDA. COMMUNICATIONS WILL ALSO SENT SEPARATELY BY THE U.K. AND THE U.S. TO SMITH REGIME AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

6. IN INFORMING THE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS, YOU MAY PRESENT THEM WITH A COPY OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT, EXPLAINING THAT IT IS A DRAFT, AND DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING FOR TALKING POINTS:

A. THE US AND UK ARE PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE NEXT STEPS IN RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS ON OR BEFORE WEDNESDAY, MAY 11. WE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND WHAT OUR PLANS ARE BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE.

B. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

C. THE RECENT REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT REFLECTS THE US DETERMINATION TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON RHODESIA TO MAKE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE.

D. AS WE SEE IT, A LONG, INTENSE CONFLICT WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR ALL CONCERNED: FOR THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, AND FOR THE ECONOMY OF THE REGION. A STEADILY GROWING WAR WILL IN ANY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 104968

EVENT POSTPONE INDEPENDENCE.

E. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE ILLEGAL SMITH REGIME WILL CONTINUE. BUT, TO SHORTEN THE CONFLICT AND HASTEN INDEPENDENCE, NON-MILITARY PRESSURE AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALSO NECESSARY.

F. WE HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH AND AGREE WITH THEM THAT CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

COULD HELP ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE AGREED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM IN CARRYING OUT A NEW PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES THAT WERE PRESENT AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

G. WE BELIEVE SUCH CONSULTATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AMONG THE PARTIES AND FOR A SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO RUSH INTO ANOTHER CONFERENCE BEFORE THERE IS SOME AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES.

H. WE UNDERSTAND THE CONCERNS ABOUT US DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN A CONFERENCE. WE WANT TO PLAY A ROLE THAT WILL HELP RATHER THAN HINDER THE PROCESS.

I. EMPHASIZE: WE DO NOT WISH OURSELVES TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A CONSTITUTION. THIS SHOULD PROPERLY BE LEFT TO THOSE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED AND THE UK.

J. WE SEE OUR ROLE IN THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS AS FACILITATING AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES AND HELPING THE BRITISH SEEK A REAL BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.

K. IF THERE IS PROGRESS IN THE CONSULTATIONS, WE ARE PREPARED TO URGE THE SMITH REGIME TO AGREE TO A JUST SETTLEMENT. THERE ARE LIMITS TO OUR ABILITY BUT WE BE-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 104968

LIEVE WE CAN HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE.

L. THE BRITISH WILL ESTABLISH A SPECIAL GROUP IN AN AFRICAN CAPITAL TO PURSUE THE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. THE US WILL ASSIGN A SENIOR OFFICIAL TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE HEAD OF THIS GROUP. OCCASIONAL VISITS TO RHODESIA MAY BE NECESSARY.

M. WE WILL CONDUCT CONSULTATIONS JOINTLY WITH THE BRITISH OR SEPARATELY DEPENDING ON THE WISHES OF THE INDIVIDUAL PARTIES.

M. IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT ON ZIMBABWE. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE CONCERNED TO DETERMINE THE NATURE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS. WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE WORK IMPARTIALLY WITH ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS. CHRISTOPHER
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 104968
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY AF/S:JDAVIDOW;DH

APPROVED BY AF:WEDMONDSON

S/S-O RPERITO

-----100204Z 105910 /66

O 100120Z MAY 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104968

EXDIS

FOL RPT STATE 104968 ACTION DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA GABORONE
MAPUTO ACCRA INFO CAPE TOWN 9 MAY 77 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104968

EXDIS CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT:INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADORS TO INFORM NATIONALIST
LEADERS AND FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON RHODESIAN CONSULTA -
TIONS

1. THE SECRETARY ON MAY 6 AGREED WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY
OWEN THAT WE SHOULD GO FORWARD JOINTLY WITH INTENSIVE BI-
LATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND
NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH INTERESTED
PARTIES TO A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. THEY ALSO AGREED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 104968

TO SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS ON WEDNESDAY, MAY

11, AND PERHAPS SOONER IF ALL THE PARTIES CAN BE PRIVATELY INFORMED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

2. THE DRAFT OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT THE US SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. CYRUS VANCE, AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, DR. DAVID OWEN, HAVE CONSIDERED THE PROBLEM OF RHODESIA IN THE LIGHT OF THE LATTER'S TRIP TO AFRICA. BOTH GOVERNMENTS WISH TO REITERATE THEIR COMMON DETERMINATION TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF RHODESIA UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THEY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THEIR CONTACTS SO

FAR TO BELIEVE THAT DETAILED CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE A SATISFACTORY WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS. THEY HAVE, THEREFORE, AGREED THAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOW ENTER INTO A PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH A CONSULTATIVE GROUP TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES WHICH WILL VISIT THE AREA AS NECESSARY, INCLUDING SALISBURY. IT WILL BE HEADED BY MR. J.A.N. GRAHAM, DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE. MR. VANCE HAS AGREED TO APPOINT A SENIOR UNITED STATES OFFICIAL TO WORK WITH THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSULTATIVE GROUP. END TEXT.

3. THE SECRETARY HAS INFORMED JOSHUA NKOMO OF OUR INTENTIONS IN HIS MEETING WITH HIM MAY 6.

4. AMBASSADORS ARE REQUESTED TO BRIEF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS SOONEST OF OUR INTENTIONS, AS WE WANT TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO RESPOND BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA ARE IN ACCRA
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 104968

AND THAT MUGABE IS IN DAR ES SALAAM, WHERE THEY SHOULD BE REACHED WITHOUT DELAY. PLEASE INFORM IMMEDIATELY IF THIS IS NOT THE CASE AND IF THIS INSTRUCTION CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT.

5. THE BRITISH WILL CARRY OUT SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL NOTIFICATION OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES BY WAY OF A LETTER FROM OWEN WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS OR HIGH COMMISSIONERS. THE U.K. WILL ALSO INFORM NETO VIA THE ITALIAN EMBASSY IN LUANDA. COMMUNICATIONS WILL ALSO SENT SEPARATELY BY THE U.K. AND THE U.S. TO SMITH REGIME AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

6. IN INFORMING THE PRESIDENTS AND NATIONALIST LEADERS, YOU MAY PRESENT THEM WITH A COPY OF THE PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT, EXPLAINING THAT IT IS A DRAFT, AND DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING FOR TALKING POINTS:

A. THE US AND UK ARE PLANNING TO ANNOUNCE SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE NEXT STEPS IN RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS ON OR BEFORE WEDNESDAY, MAY 11. WE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND WHAT OUR PLANS ARE BEFORE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE.

B. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO WORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 1978. THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

C. THE RECENT REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT REFLECTS THE US DETERMINATION TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON RHODESIA TO MAKE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE.

D. AS WE SEE IT, A LONG, INTENSE CONFLICT WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR ALL CONCERNED: FOR THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, AND FOR THE ECONOMY OF THE REGION. A STEADILY GROWING WAR WILL IN ANY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 104968

EVENT POSTPONE INDEPENDENCE.

E. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE ILLEGAL SMITH REGIME WILL CONTINUE. BUT, TO SHORTEN THE CONFLICT AND HASTEN INDEPENDENCE, NON-MILITARY PRESSURE AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALSO NECESSARY.

F. WE HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH AND AGREE WITH THEM THAT CONSULTATIONS ABOUT AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD HELP ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE AGREED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM IN CARRYING OUT A NEW PHASE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES THAT WERE PRESENT AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

G. WE BELIEVE SUCH CONSULTATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AMONG THE PARTIES AND FOR A SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO RUSH INTO ANOTHER CONFERENCE BEFORE THERE IS SOME AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES.

H. WE UNDERSTAND THE CONCERNS ABOUT US DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN A CONFERENCE. WE WANT TO PLAY A ROLE THAT WILL HELP RATHER THAN HINDER THE PROCESS.

I. EMPHASIZE: WE DO NOT WISH OURSELVES TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A CONSITUTION. THIS SHOULD PROPERLY BE LEFT TO THOSE IMMEDIATELY CONCERNED AND THE UK.

J. WE SEE OUR ROLE IN THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS AS FACILITATING AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES AND HELPING THE BRITISH SEEK A REAL BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.

K. IF THERE IS PROGRESS IN THE CONSULTATIONS, WE ARE PREPARED TO URGE THE SMITH REGIME TO AGREE TO A JUST SETTLEMENT. THERE ARE LIMITS TO OUR ABILITY BUT WE BE-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 104968

LIEVE WE CAN HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE.

L. THE BRITISH WILL ESTABLISH A SPECIAL GROUP IN AN AFRICAN CAPITAL TO PURSUE THE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. THE US WILL ASSIGN A SENIOR OFFICIAL TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE HEAD OF THIS GROUP. OCCASIONAL VISITS TO RHODESIA MAY BE NECESSARY.

M. WE WILL CONDUCT CONSULTATIONS JOINTLY WITH THE BRITISH OR SEPARATELY DEPENDING ON THE WISHES OF THE INDIVIDUAL PARTIES.

M. IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT ON ZIMBABWE. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE CONCERNED TO DETERMINE THE NATURE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS. WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE WORK IMPARTIALLY WITH ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS. CHRISTOPHER

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INSTRUCTIONS, INTERIM GOVERNMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 09-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE104968
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: 1
Expiration:
Film Number: D770163-0560
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770574/aaaacInn.tel
Line Count: 802
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a9064597-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 15
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2580962
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADORS TO INFORM NATIONALIST LEADERS AND FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON RHODESIAN CONSULTA - TIONS
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK, US
To: ROME
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a9064597-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009